1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

PART TWO

THE EARLY PERIOD OF DIRECT CONTROL
By The Japanese Government

I. THE REASONS FOR THE ASSUMPTION OF DIRECT CONTROL

A F *C48 *175

It was not until this second period, that of direct control by the Bakufu which began in 1799, that the central government recognized the importance of a policy of control over Hokkaidō and its residents and began to consider such a policy and that a great deal of discussion took place about Ainu policy and procedures. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the transition from a commercial to an exploited colony was a logical one, but the factor that so rapidly made Ezo a problem was one of foreign relations, for there had appeared a competitor for colonial power in Ezo-land, and this appearance was to bring into existence a more proper way of government in Ezo—the direct control of the Bakufu. Let us examine this.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN COLONIZATION

F *175 10

It was early in the thirteenth century that our country was introduced to Europe as "Jipangry" [Zipangu]. It was an exaggerated introduction which told of an island "abounding in gold and limitless in its resources" [1] but it stirred the gambling spirit of Europeans and it initiated a colonial venture by those Europeans who were active during the Renaissance and who were antagonized by the Turkish monopoly of the Eastern trade. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived in our country and then Japan, which had been peacefully isolated from the world in a corner of the Orient, came into the stream of world history. From that time on the threat of foreign countries gradually encircled our country. The first introduction of the Ezo region (Hokkaidō) to Europe was probably made in the letters [2] to colleagues in China and India of Luis Frois who had been engaged in missionary work in Kyōtō and Ōsaka starting in 1565, some twenty-three years after the first Portuguese ship entered Tanegashima in 1543. These letters soon attracted the attention of other evangelists for they spoke of that custom of the Ainu, similar to Christianity, of attaching crosses to clothes and burying the dead. Ezo-land became a favorite place to send people to spread the gospel and a great deal of effort went into the attempt to make converts in that region.[3] While these attempts were

A *C48 *175 [199]
A [171]
A [181]

[1] Uriu Tora trans. and ed., *Maruko Poro Kikō* (Travels of Marco Polo), 418.

[2] Murakami Naojirō, trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin (Christian Correspondence from Japan), *Ikoku Sōsho* [Collection of Materials on Foreign Lands] 1: 192.

[3] Shibata Sadakichi, Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite (The introduction of Christianity to Ezo), in Sapporo Hōsō Kyoku ed., *Hokkaidō Kyōdoshi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of Hokkaidō), 222.

Feudal Japan ABQ

moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village." [26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 [29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . , *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

Feudal Japan 1182

F *648 799 *175 792

for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.[44]

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.[45]

A F 799 *648 *175 776

We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōya* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.[46] It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.[47] He

---

[44] Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

F [799] [792]

[45] "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

A [279]

[46] "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Basho* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni. . ., in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

F A [173]

[47] The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them.[48]

6. LAW

Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.
2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.
3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts.[49] In addition to the above three clauses

---

can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyabu*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

[48] It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil; is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

[49] "If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

522 *Inn-keeper.* What are you doing with it?

Ainu. Skinning it for supper.

Inn-keeper. How is it you have only got half a hare?

Ainu. My master shot it.

Inn-keeper. But how only half?

Ainu. He aimed with his gun, pulled the trigger, there was a loud "bang" and I went and picked this up.

Inn-keeper. But how came you to get only half?

Ainu. Well, it happened thus. Hares, as you know, are among the fleetest animals in the world, and this one was the swiftest of the swift. My master, too, is a splendid shot. Among men of the gun he takes the deadliest aim.

Inn-keeper. Oh, how so?

Ainu. Thus: you see there were two very clever people, the hare and my master. One was a clever shot and the other was clever at running. It was impossible that the hare should not run away. So, as you see, half got away. Indeed, though I have only two of its legs here it got away on four!

Inn-keeper. What a liar!

This was too much for the inn-keeper. Had he only been a little more patient, he would have been told that the other two legs ran away on four, but inside the fox or wolf. But my man was too much for him so that he could only give a supercilious smile, turn on his heel and go off saying *"Chikushō"!* (beast) Parapita and I had a good laugh afterwards, and we found the hare, too, very good eating.

177 I never got it quite all my own way when preaching
●797 to these people, and always had to be wide awake in the old days when doing so, whether in a church or in a hut. One day I was addressing a congregation and used a camel as an illustration. What I said about this animal appealed to the audience at once. There

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

seemed to be more wonders connected with the anatomy and powers of endurance of these creatures than some of them cared to believe at first. The wonderful adaptation of their feet for walking in the sandy deserts, the hardness of the tongue and mouth, owing to which they are able to eat hard and prickly food; the means by which they can store and carry water inside of them for long journeys, the use of the hump in repairing the waste of tissue; all these and other things I told them seemed to be too wonderful for the brains of these docile Ainu! One person was like that Indian Prince who, having seen no ice in his native land, would not believe that there was such a thing as water becoming hard. This man said to me in a nice quiet yet insinuating voice, "And Sir, was this animal not so constructed that he could carry a drop of *saké* inside, too?" This was in church, nevertheless it made the congregation roar with laughter. I at once replied, for it would never have done to allow the laugh to rest on me, "Friend, I am not talking about an Ainu, but about a camel. If you had a camel, and you thought he had some *saké* inside him, that *saké* would very soon change stomachs and there would be a poor dead camel to skin and bury." He got the laugh on himself this time and so the incident ended.

On another occasion I took upon me the responsibility of quoting Aesop's well known fable of "The fox and the grapes." Thus:

"A famished fox saw some clusters of ripe black grapes hanging from a trellised vine. She resorted to all her tricks to get at them. At last she turned away, beguiling herself of disappointment and saying, "The grapes are sour, and not ripe as I thought!"

To this an Ainu retorted, "I know, Sir, that's a lie. Foxes can't talk." This surprised me, but I quickly replied, "Friend, the Reynard I am speaking about was a Greek fox, not an Ainu one, and the great and learned Mr. Aesop is my authority!" This was quite

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

177
177 sufficient and so the lecture ended, and all went away happy.

117 But sometimes the people, some of them at least, used to strike me as being a little stupid. The following incidents will show, in part, why I came to that conclusion.

As I was expecting letters, I said to the chief one evening, "I want you to get up at dawn tomorrow morning and go down to the coast post-office and ask if there are any letters for me. It is only a matter of fifteen miles, so you ought to be back again sometime in the evening." He went. Very late at night he returned. I heard him enter the hut and called from my sleeping place to know if there were any for me. "Yes," he replied, "several." "All right. Blow up the fire. I will be with you in a minute," I said. Well, I got up expecting to receive what he had brought. "Where are they?" I inquired. "I haven't got them," he replied. "But how is that?" I asked. His reply was, "You did not tell me to bring them, but to inquire as to whether there were any. And there are." I said no more but trotted off to bed again and thought. I became like Br'er Rabbit, of whom it is said, "He lay low, and he say nuffin." I was busy learning lessons in those days. And still am.

Our old Ainu servant died a few years ago and we afterwards sent his wife away. Another woman came to be taught, by her special request, but we found she was such a wonderful forgetter that we could not keep her long. One day I asked her to run out and put a letter I wanted to get off quickly into a pillar-box near at hand. A few hours later I found this same letter had been posted in our very own letter-box at the front door! The fact is, we had caught her wild and she had evidently not yet learned about pillar-boxes.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch! 224

I was always on the look-out for curios when among the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow. 441

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him. 224 [278 411]

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for 797

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

797 further instruction. On this occasion we had a most interesting conversation, which was as follows.

Tee. If I receive baptism as you say I should do and so join the church, will that prevent me from going to the same Heaven my highly esteemed dogs have gone to?"

To say I was surprised at this question would be putting it too mildly. I was taken quite aback. However, quickly pulling myself together, I said,

Self. Ah, yes, that's a great point indeed, and well worth talking over, isn't it? Come, let us sit down comfortably and discuss the matter."

So we went into my study and sat down for a nice chat.

Tee. "You knew many of my dogs, didn't you? How clever they were, and what a help!"

Self. "Yes, indeed. I knew them and many a time have I shared my dinner with them. Good, beautiful, obedient, helpful creatures. And so you want to go to the same Heaven your dear dogs have gone to. Is that really so?"

Tee. "Yes I do. They were without sin. I loved my dogs with all my heart. They have saved my life time and again, and I have saved theirs also. When hunting together, we lived in the same lodge and shared the same food. When the nights were cold, we occupied the same bed for warmth. We were great friends. If the Christian Heaven is not the same as the one my dogs have gone to, I cannot become a Christian. My dogs are all waiting for me, and to them I must go. If baptism is going to prevent this, I must remain as I am."

I have now studied the Ainu for several years and know something of their religious belief, and so can well sympathize with his trend of thought. Poor fellow! He was thoroughly troubled and intensely in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was nothing if not sincere. 797

Self. "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

Tee. "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

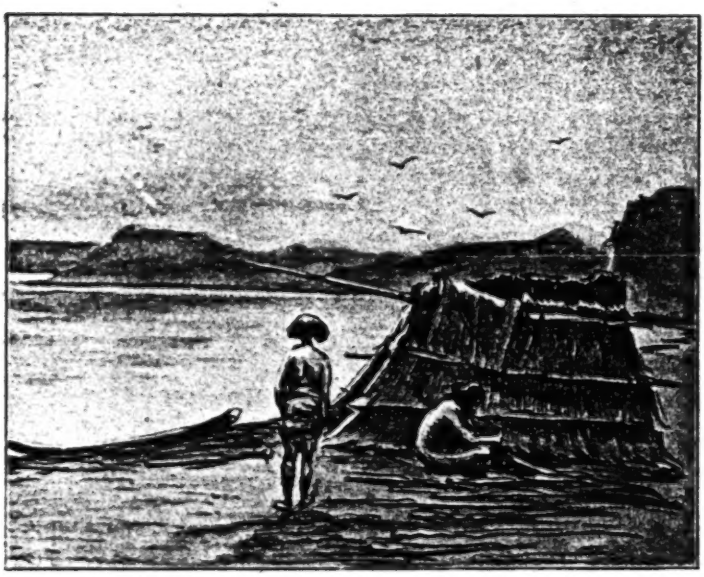
It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari believed himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. 614 774 825

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

342
501
133



FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

123
609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instigation of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as he is sometimes called by them; and, moreover, they knew nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped. The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this personage.

The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metempsychosis is equally unknown to them.

As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces; for the idea is, not that the dead body should profit by these things in the other world, but that no other person should make use of what had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material; his mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what is bad for him; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts. The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker of all things and above all things, is far beyond the comprehension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he principally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive after the Divine; and he has no creed of any kind and no formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essential to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of supernaturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. However, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn. The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,